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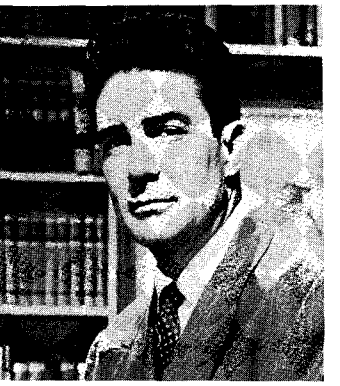

DAN SMOOT

HOW TO PROMOTE WORLD PEACE

The first complete, formal statement of American foreign policy was made by George Washington in his Farewell Address to the People of the United States, September 17, 1796.

Washington warned against foreign influence in the shaping of our national affairs. He urged America to avoid permanent, entangling alliances with other nations, recommending a national policy of benign neutrality toward the rest of the world. Washington did not want America to build a wall around herself. His policy permitted a freer exchange of travel, commerce, ideas, and culture between Americans and other people than Americans have enjoyed since the policy was abandoned. The Father of our Country wanted the American *government* kept out of the wars, revolutions, and political affairs of other nations. He said.

"Why forego the advantage of so peculiar a situation [as America has]? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour or caprice?"

Washington told Americans their nation had a high destiny, which it could not fulfill if they permitted their government to become entangled in the affairs of other nations. The American destiny was something more than undisturbed pursuit of national self-interest. America was destined to be the torchbearer of liberty for all mankind, a living example of how free men could govern themselves and prosper and live in peace. America was not ordained to be a breadbasket for the world, not a meddler in the affairs of other nations, not a constable to enforce peace among warring countries. The Farewell Address is a prayer that Americans, by preserving for themselves the blessings of liberty under constitutional government, would "acquire . . . the glory of recommending" their system "to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it."

The foreign policy of George Washington was followed until April 2, 1917, when Woodrow Wilson asked Congress for a declaration of war on Germany, to make the world safe for democracy.

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Wilson's airy evangelism sent thousands of men to bleed and die on foreign soil in World War I. After it was over, Americans realized their error: they had not made the world safe for anything worthwhile.

Revolted by the bloody and costly consequences of our first major venture in international meddling and uplifting, we returned to our ancient policy of political isolation.

Franklin D. Roosevelt got himself elected three times on a platform of political isolationism. In 1940, however, while promising to keep the United States out of World War II, Roosevelt was working relentlessly to get us involved. When he succeeded, he inaugurated America's present internationalist policy of world-meddling — of perpetual war for perpetual peace.[1]

Such men as former President Herbert Hoover and Senator Robert A. Taft said, at the time, that American involvement in World War II would be a gargantuan error: getting in the war on the side of communism would be suicidal: we should stay out and let Hitler and Stalin destroy each other.

In August, 1941, Herbert Hoover joined in a public statement which said:

"The American people should insistently demand that Congress put a stop to step-by-step projection of the United States into undeclared war. . . .

"Few people honestly believe that the Axis is now, or will in the future be, in a position to threaten the independence of any part of this Hemisphere if our defenses are properly prepared. Freedom in America does not depend on the outcome of struggles for material power between other nations."[2]

Hiram Johnson trumpeted in the United States Senate a question which has never been answered. He said:

"Good God! Did we ever sink so low before as to choose one cutthroat out of two? This man [Stalin] was Hitler's ally. . . . Now we furnish him with weapons which may be turned upon us."[2]

Senator Johnson's prophecy was fulfilled. Communists did turn our weapons against us.

As German power disintegrated in Europe, the Soviets—using supplies and equipment which we had given them — moved in to rape, pillage and enslave. They used our aid to control the conquered populations and to install and support their puppet communist governments.

It was with our money that the Soviets paid, maintained and gave bonuses to, their own armies of occupation. It was with our aid, that they dismantled German rocket-producing plants and atomic-energy laboratories, and transported them to Russia. It was with our help that they took over rich uranium mines in Eastern Germany. It was with our acquiescence, and aid, that they kidnapped some of Germany's best scientists and technicians and shipped them to Russia—where they designed superweapons now used to intimidate the world.

It was American military personnel who seized and herded into boxcars myriads of refugees from communism, who were shipped like animals to slavery and slaughter in the Soviet Union.

It was American equipment and supplies which the Soviet Siberian armies used in the rape of Manchuria, after we had defeated Japan. Chinese communists used this same American material to make war on our ally, Chiang Kai-Shek.

Just before his death, Franklin D. Roosevelt said:

"We have learned that we cannot live alone, at peace; that our own well-being is dependent upon the well-being of other nations far away . . . . We have learned to be citizens of the world . . . ."[3]

President Harry Truman initiated programs to implement the policy he had inherited—multiple alliances which scattered American military power all over the world on the presumption that America could not defend herself but could defend the world; and foreign aid to all nations which would accept it (including communist nations) on the presumption that America could no longer stand alone, but could carry the world on her back.

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Post-war programs to implement Roosevelt's new American foreign policy had hardly begun before experience revealed that the policy had put America on the road to ruin. We were not making friends abroad: we were making enemies.

By 1949, America's post-war foreign policy had so stimulated communist expansion in Europe that something had to be done. Truman sent General Eisenhower to Europe to set up NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). NATO would be *the* "free world shield against communism."

NATO became a permanent multi-billion-dollar commitment to defend Europe with American men and material, while European nations grew economically strong on our aid—strong enough to extend trade and aid to our enemies in communist lands; strong enough to compete with us industrially and to capture world markets from American industries being taxed to subsidize their foreign competitors.

NATO was built on France as the *keystone*, with command headquarters in Paris. At the time, we knew that all vital industries in France were controlled by communist-run unions. We knew that the communist party was one of the strongest in France, often exercising decisive influence in French national elections. We knew that communists occupied key posts throughout the sprawling French bureaucracy—in the military services, in civilian jobs, in the judiciary, in police establishments, and in the government.

In April, 1958, communists helped overthrow the 24th French government since World War II. The event was seasoned with angry jibes, from all factions, at the United States. One leading French "rightist" suggested that the Soviet Union probably would be a better ally for France than America.

France—the keystone of our NATO alliance—*never* made a gesture of strong support for NATO.

Our "defense of the free world" in Europe has worked at cross-purposes with our "defense of the free world" in Asia and Africa.

Following World War II, communists intensified the international campaign of hatred against European colonial powers. Communists knew that if established white rule could be eliminated in the backward areas of Asia and Africa, chaos would ensue, giving communists an opportunity to take over. The Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy-Johnson administrations fully supported the communist propaganda campaign against European colonialism while, at the same time, supporting European colonial powers. The result has been general resentment, or outright hatred, of the United States in all quarters.

Our internationalist foreign policy has also failed wretchedly in Latin America. Despite billions of dollars which we have given Latin American nations, animosity toward the United States is more widespread than ever. Never before has our military security been so endangered by the presence of enemy power and intrigue in the Caribbean area.

In 1949, Nationalist China—the keystone of our defenses against communism in Asia—was driven from the mainland.

In 1953, South Korea—another keystone of our worldwide defense system—became a hopeless, helpless ward of the American government, prohibited by the American-communist armistice from militant action against communists, although her communist neighbor has never been bound by the same armistice.

In 1954, Dienbienphu (French fortress, considered the last keystone of defense against communism in Indo-China) fell to the communists.

In 1958, Iraq — called the keystone of American policy in the Middle East — fell into the hands of pro-communist anti-Americans.

In 1959, Cuba, which (with the American Guantanamo Bay Naval Base commanding strategic approaches to the Caribbean Sea and the Panama Canal) was a keystone of our Western Hemisphere defenses, fell into the hands of communist Castro.

In 1959, de Gaulle completed the elimination of France as the keystone of our NATO defenses when he refused to permit American missiles bases on French soil and formally withdrew most French troops from the NATO command.

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In 1959, America complied with Morocco's orders that we evacuate our Moroccan air bases — the keystone of our air defense for the Mediterranean area.

In 1964, Turkey and Greece — keystone of our land defenses around the eastern shores of the Mediterranean — withdrew forces from NATO to threaten war with each other over Cyprus.

Nothing could be more obvious than the total collapse of our internationalist foreign policy. Yet, at the end of 1964, leading spokesmen for the Johnson administration were solemnly explaining the need to continue and expand that policy. President Johnson himself was repeating the old Roosevelt warning that America can never again live as an independent nation.

Fruits Of Isolationism

Internationalists react with scorn when anyone suggests return to the traditional American policy of national independence — which they call isolationism — the policy which America actually followed for a total of 148 years: from 1789 to 1917, and from 1920 to 1940.

Indeed, internationalists often try to blame the failure of their own policy on "isolationists" or on the "latent isolationism of the American people."

What shape would we — and the rest of the world — be in today, if George Washington's policy of national independence (or political isolationism) had never been abandoned?

If isolationists had had their way about keeping us out of World War I, we would have saved thousands of dead and wounded American soldiers. We would have been spared the waste of natural resources and the great depression we suffered in the backwash of World War I. We would also have been spared the New Deal socialist revolution — which was fobbed off on the people as a means of ending the depression.

We would have been much better off if we had stayed out of World War I — and so would the Europeans whom we joined the war to help. The war in Europe would have ground to some kind of stalemate peace, as wars in Europe have been doing for two thousand years. There probably would not have been a World War II.

By throwing her great strength into the European war, America destroyed ancient balances of power, prolonged the war, made it more savage.

If isolationists had had their way about keeping us out of World War II, Hitler and Stalin might have destroyed each other; and the evil systems they controlled might have died with them. There would have been no Korean war, which cost us another 53,000 casualties, and ended in disgrace for the United States.

If isolationists had had their way, the United States would not today be so entangled in the affairs of all nations on earth that every border conflict threatens to become an American war.

The traditional policy of political isolation made it possible for America to become a powerful citadel of freedom, a beacon of hope for all men everywhere.

Why *not* return to that policy?

Internationalists assume that because we have airplanes, missiles, mass-destruction weapons, and instantaneous worldwide communication systems, America can no longer live an independent national life. Actually, we are in better position to live independently now than we were in the early nineteenth century. We were then a rural nation, heavily dependent on European manufacturers for farm implements, household goods, transportation vehicles, books, musical instruments, medicines, clothing, building supplies.

The arguments for American intervention in European struggles were far more logical and compelling in the days of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson than they are now:

—The French, claiming a debt of gratitude, demanded our help, arguing that Britain would take back the American colonies if she succeeded in defeating France.

—England, claiming bonds of kinship and tradition, warned that England stood as America's only protection against conquest by Napoleon.

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—Spain, with colonies to the south and west of us and with claims on most of the vast Louisiana Territory, entered the tug-of-war, trying to drag America into the endless turmoil of European politics.

We were a weak and backward nation in those days. Many thought we could not possibly maintain a policy of political isolation — that we simply could not survive if we did not join hands with one or another of the great powers of Europe. They were wrong. We maintained our national independence; we survived; and we prospered.

Our World Responsibilities

Suggestion that America return to a policy of national independence brings objections from people who have been saturated with propaganda about America's world responsibilities.

The American government has no world responsibility — has no constitutional right or power to concern itself with questions of how people in other nations live or what they do, as long as they do not violate the rights of Americans.

American individuals, as decent human beings, do have large responsibilities, for themselves, for their neighbors, for the world. They should have freedom, from their own government, to neglect or fulfill their responsibilities in compliance with individual means and conscience. When government confiscates our earnings to provide assistance to foreign governments it robs us of the means to meet our personal responsibilities.

One of America's world responsibilities, according to the majority opinion of our political and intellectual leaders, is to help backward or underdeveloped nations build industrial systems like ours so that their material living standard will be raised.

Our leaders give us a multitude of reasons why we *must*, in our "own enlightened self-interest" give aid to backward nations. The real reasons were explained by Joseph Stalin, in an article published in *Pravda* on May 8, 1921 (reprinted pp. 111-117, *Joseph Stalin: Marxism and the National Question, Selected Writings and Speeches*, published in 1942 by International Publishers — communist publishing house in New York City).

Stalin said:

"... it is essential that the triumphant proletariat of the advanced countries should render aid, real and prolonged aid, to the toiling masses of the backward nationalities in their cultural and economic development; that it should help them to rise to a higher stage of development and to catch up with the more advanced nationalities.

"Unless such aid is forthcoming it will be impossible to bring about the peaceful co-existence and fraternal collaboration of the toilers of the various nations and peoples within a single world economic system that are so essential for the final triumph of socialism."

American foreign aid gravely injures the backward nations it is supposed to help, and prepares them for communist conquest.

Even Dr. Hans Morgenthau (one of America's leading internationalist intellectuals who believes in a world-meddling and world-uplifting foreign policy for America) says:

"Successful foreign aid, infused into a primitive society, is, by the very nature of its success, a revolutionary and disruptive element, not at all a factor making for social stability. This being so ... it may well be considered a blessing in disguise that in many countries our policy of foreign aid has not been successful; for, had it been, it might well have undermined the very status quo to whose support we are committed."

Our technical assistance experts go into a backward country and teach natives to use tractors. Where are they going to get tractors after they learn to use them? Where will they get gas and oil? Where will they get mechanics and spare parts to keep the tractors running? What are they going to do with tractors? They cannot use tractors to pull wooden plows! Give them steel plows also?

What happens to the self-reliance of people in an underdeveloped nation after we give them complicated machinery which they cannot pro-

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duce themselves, cannot maintain, cannot even understand?

Technical assistance experts taught Burmese farmers to use steel plows, which cut too deep and broke up the subsoil, ruining it as a water-holder, and destroying rice fields.

Foreign technical assistance experts had another sad experience with steel plows in a province of India. After teaching natives to use the plows, western experts realized that these modern plows would do great damage to an ancient way of life. Every family using a wooden plow furnished employment for another family making and servicing wooden plows. If you give the farmers western-made steel plows, what will you do with the villagers who used to make and service wooden plows? Teach them to make steel plows? That requires a big industrial plant. Build it for them? That requires power—big dams, or steam generating plants. Provide these for the underdeveloped nations? Where will they get the trained personnel to operate and maintain what we have given them?

Where do we end in this program of using American tax money in a futile effort to revolutionize backward nations? We end in disaster for ourselves and for the people we have tried to help. They are not ready for a complicated industrial system. We are forcing upon them a way of life which they are not yet culturally capable of accepting. We cut them loose from customs and moorings of their own systems, making them victims of any political leaders who can seize power.

We consider America's advancement from a rural, backward nation to our present status as having been remarkably fast; and it was; it took only 175 years!

Much of the basic scientific information that we have today was known more than a century ago. Why, then, did it take so long to develop our complex, industrial civilization? Because a whole people had to adapt and adjust itself culturally and intellectually to a machine-age before it could accept a machine-age. What if our present-day technological system had been thrust suddenly upon Americans of the early nineteenth century? It would have destroyed them. They were not ready for it. Yet, Americans of the early nineteenth century (in cultural, political, and technological development) were ages ahead of peoples whom we now try to push into our twentieth-century way of life!

America's advancement was not due to superior natural resources. Many underdeveloped areas possess a greater abundance of unexploited natural resources than America ever had.

Our spectacular growth was made possible because we adopted a political system which gave us freedom — freedom from our own government. Our political system released and gave full play to the energies and ingenuity of every individual person; it attracted foreign capital by guaranteeing the inviolability of valid contracts; it nourished growth of domestic risk-capital by guaranteeing that man was entitled to whatever rewards he could honestly earn with his own effort and money.

Our growth was achieved by private, not governmental, effort. This is the only safe and effective way for any nation to achieve industrial growth. When industries develop under private capitalism, they must operate efficiently and profitably; they must produce goods of the kinds and quantities needed, improving production as the consumer market develops.

These controls do not operate on governments. Governmental plans for industrial development tend to be grandiose and impractical, often influenced by the greed, corruption, and political ambition of the planners, rather than by needs of the people. This tendency in governmental planning is inevitable and fatal, when the planners get their funds, not through taxes imposed on their own people, but as foreign aid from abroad.

The initiative for any "improvement" in a backward area must come from the *people* of that area.

People wanting to develop industries can get American private capital if they will first establish themselves as good credit risks — by adopting a political system to prevent their own government from confiscating or harassing foreign invest-

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ments in their country. That is the way Americans originally got foreign capital to help develop industry.

If people in backward areas are ready for modern farm machinery, private American business firms will send experts to teach them to use it. If they want day schools for their children and lessons in hygiene, all they need do is show a little more tolerance toward Christian missionaries from the United States.

Pedro Beltran (a distinguished Peruvian statesman, former Ambassador to the United States) says:

"If a nation relies on handouts to live . . . its future is doomed. As time goes on, it finds it harder and harder to get on its feet and forge its own future . . . . It ends by making no effort to develop its own resources or be self-supporting. As long as such a state of affairs prevails, such a country will never come of age, but will continue to be dependent on others, without prospects for the future.

"It should be realized that private capital can achieve what no public treasury can do. When confidence has been established, the amount of private capital that may flow into a country is practically unlimited. Private investors will compete with one another and seek out the opportunities . . . . but government money cannot do this, since risk venture is beyond its province. Private capital will flow . . . if the investor feels that he can operate in a free economy."(4)

Spruille Braden (one of America's most distinguished diplomats: former U. S. Ambassador to various Latin American nations and Assistant Secretary of State for American Republic Affairs) says:

"It is proclaimed that poverty and illiteracy breed communism and open the way to Kremlin domination; whereas, industrialization and higher living standards defeat both of these evils.

"These theories simply are not sound.

"In southern Italy, where the greatest poverty and illiteracy exist, there is the least communism. In the industrialized north, with higher living standards, communism flourishes. This same condition prevails in many other countries and places.

"Poverty and illiteracy can only be eliminated slowly and with utmost care. It is not a job that can be done overnight. We would destroy, rather than sustain, our position 'by helping everybody else to realize their own aspirations' — as our government claims we must do. We have neither the money nor the manpower even to attempt such a colossal adventure. There is no moral or other obligation on us to give even modest foreign aid.

"Since 1941, our government, by means of its own, and latterly through United Nations foreign aid, has been, and still is, subsidizing the U.S.S.R.'s long-range campaign against the U.S.A.

"A single American company (United Fruit) has raised living standards higher and created more general well-being through Central America than ever could be done by our governmental aid. Yet, our own Department of Justice filed an anti-trust suit against United Fruit, demanding divestiture, among other things, of the rich farm lands converted by this company from worse than worthless jungle swamps; and our Attorney General, in announcing the suit, implicitly endorsed false communist accusations against the United States.

"It was not the United States, as has been alleged, which primarily helped the Guatemalans

WHO IS DAN SMOOT?

Born in Missouri, reared in Texas, Dan Smoot went to SMU getting BA and MA degrees, 1938 and 1940. In 1941, he joined the faculty at Harvard as a Teaching Fellow, doing graduate work for a doctorate in American civilization. From 1942 to 1951, he was an FBI agent: three and a half years on communist investigations; two years on FBI headquarters staff; almost four years on general FBI cases in various places. He resigned from the FBI and, from 1951 to 1955, was commentator on national radio and television programs, giving *both* sides of controversial issues. In July, 1955, he started his present profit-supported, free-enterprise business: publishing *The Dan Smoot Report,* a weekly magazine available by subscription; and producing a weekly news-analysis radio and television broadcast, available for sponsorship by reputable business firms, as an advertising vehicle. The *Report* and broadcast give *one* side of important issues: the side that presents documented truth using the American Constitution as a yardstick. If you think Smoot's materials are effective against socialism and communism, you can help immensely—help get subcribers for the *Report,* commercial sponsors for the broadcast.

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to rid themselves of communist control. So soon as the communists had been driven out, our own government proceeded officially and senselessly to confirm communist calumnies against the United States. Since then, we have wasted millions of dollars in grants to Guatemala."(4)

What, then, should the United States government do about all the backward countries? Leave them alone, just as we insisted that other nations leave us alone when we were a backward nation! We never would have moved an inch forward, if we had depended on other governments — or our own—to give us something.

One of our alleged world responsibilities is to promote world peace.

We cannot prevent other nations from warring on one another, and we have no business trying. We could, however, keep our own nation out of war if we would maintain such *national* defenses that none would dare touch us — and if we would return to the traditional American foreign policy of benign neutrality which George Washington recommended in 1796.

We would thus make our maximum contribution to world peace. Without American help, other nations could not afford the expensive, destructive wars which they have been fighting in this century with our money.

Ambassador Spruille Braden says:

"George Washington, in his Farewell Address, made the finest statement ever put forth as to what should be U.S. Foreign Policy. I should like to see a really convincing and detailed analysis of why modern transportation, communications, and science so profoundly alter Washington's warnings against entangling alliances.

"I should like to know if we have not wastefully overarmed many smaller countries, who are incapable of any self-defense and whose people cannot handle modern equipment.

"I should like to know if historians are accurate when they say that the end of Rome started when she began subsidizing the outlying tribes and nations of Europe, and depending upon non-Roman mercenaries for her defense."(4)

Our disastrous internationalist policy is founded on, and tied to, the United Nations, where the momentous decision of war or peace has been taken from our hands.

An initial step toward promoting world peace, by re-establishing traditional American foreign policy, must be withdrawal of the United States from the United Nations.

FOOTNOTES

(1) *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace*, edited by Harry Elmer Barnes, Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1953, 679 pp.

(2) *Roosevelt's Road to Russia*, by George N. Crocker, Henry Regnery Company, Chicago, 1959, pp. 93-4, 92

(3) "Fourth Inaugural Address," January 20, 1945, *The Inaugural Addresses of The American Presidents, From Washington To Kennedy*, Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, New York City, 1961, p. 248

(4) These quotes are taken from testimony before Congressional Commitees and various speeches by Ambassador Spruille Braden during 1959.

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